1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this protection and support. The most general of these obligations is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

882 593 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 593 576 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the [295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively [817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to his father. 884 593 576 After a young man returns from his military service, when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he 295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son [701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave. [561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried [577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion. [559] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

/370 cont./

53
178
517 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53
517 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53
462
561 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53
152 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand